

The Polish Review



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General Sikorski's Press Conferences

DURING General Sikorski's recent visit to the United States he held a number of important press and radio conferences in Washington, New York, Chicago and other large cities. The Polish prime minister and commander in chief answered all questions plainly and directly. We reprint a full report of the press conference in Chicago.

To save time, General Sikorski had suggested that he would begin by replying to questions already sent in. The Chicago Sun had asked:

1. What are Poland's post-war territorial aims? What is the attitude of the Polish government towards minorities?
2. Has any territorial understanding with Russia been reached?
3. How closely are Poland and Czechoslovakia working on post-war collaboration? Are similar steps being taken with other governments?

Answer: Poland has no territorial claims as regards frontiers with Russia. Poland is fighting Germany, and is anxious to maintain friendly relations with Russia. This, I think, is in harmony with the views of Stalin, as expressed to me during my visit at the Kremlin in December 1941.

Territorial claims affecting Poland made from time to time by the Komintern are of no strategic importance to Russia. On the contrary, a strong Poland, maintaining friendly relations with Russia will undoubtedly be the best safeguard of Russia against the century-old German "Drang Nach Osten".

The Polish nation has lived up to its high ideals in this war, as in the past. Poland must regain her independence, as one of the essential elements of a just and permanent peace. To ensure peace, Poland must have a wider access to the Baltic Sea. Her security will require certain frontier adjustments in the West, in accordance with the Atlantic Charter, to safeguard territory inhabited by people of Polish origin who for centuries have been exposed to ruthless Germanization.

Poland will have a democratic form of government along the lines of the United States and the British Commonwealth. All Polish citizens will be equal and all, regardless of origin, race or creed, will have the four freedoms, equal rights, and equal obligations.

The Polish government, under my leadership, favors Confederation of Central and Eastern Europe. This is in accord with Poland's traditions. As far back as the 16th century, Poland had formed a successful federation of neighboring states. The Polish government seeks a Confederation of Poland with Czechoslovakia to work in close harmony with the Confederation planned between Greece and Yugoslavia. These confederations

may become the basis of a future federation of nations between the Baltic and the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, securing Central and Eastern Europe against further German aggression, and safeguarding Russia on her western borders. Such a federation would undoubtedly improve economic collaboration in Europe. The raising of the standard of living in this area, inhabited by more than 100,000,000 people, with access both to the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas, would open vast markets to American business enterprise.

Question: I would like to ask the General's views on the problem of East Prussia.

Answer: Mr. Junosza has read the answer of the Prime Minister, which covers this question.

Question: We have received what we consider reliable information that Poland will be divided after the war, part of Poland going to Russia.

Answer: I can assure you that there is no such understanding, and the partition of Poland between Germany and Russia, before Germany attacked Russia, is null and void under the treaty signed between Poland and Russia. The first paragraph of that agreement is quite explicit. It was on that basis and to cope with much great issues that I and my Government decided to overlook past wrongs, to conclude this pact and to work for friendly relations with Russia.

The Prime Minister says that he is being let off lightly. He expected more questions. He says he likes to fight.

Question: Has Poland any plan for occupying any part of Germany after the war is over, other than East Prussia?

Answer: This matter has not yet been settled between the United Nations and the question of how and for how long Germany shall be occupied is yet to be decided, but as it ripens Poland undoubtedly will play her part in the occupation. I hope that Polish armies will be used for the occupation of all German territory east of the Oder.

Question: Are these answers of the Prime Minister on the record for publication?

Answer: Yes, I have nothing against their being published.

Question: I would like to ask whether General Sikorski feels that this is a war against Hitlerism or against the German nation as such, and that there must be a thoroughgoing re-education of the German nation after this war.

Answer: I do not suppose any one doubts what my reply as Chief of the Polish Government will be. We have a long score to settle with the Germans. As yet we see no opposition on the part of the German people to the Hitler regime. The German nation has rallied entirely and very compactly around

Hitler, who cannot be regarded as a symbol or as a temporary phenomenon. Hitler is the expression of the deep rooted lust of conquest of the German people. With the greatest regret I now see that even German education, which I once admired, is now entirely at the service of Hitler and his aids. German professors, who had been received most hospitably and shown all of Poland's art treasures, are today in our universities that have been closed by the Germans, and they are directing the looting of our libraries and laboratories, of our art galleries and museums. Those German professors and scientists have also placed themselves at the service of Hitler and Himmler to devise the best means for the extermination of peoples, and these methods are being now applied in the mass murders of the Jewish people. Germany is, unfortunately, a nation poisoned to its very core. First it must be rendered harmless. Germany must be more completely disarmed than was the case after the last war, and she must be deprived of all means of rearming. After that, methods of re-education will have to be applied to root out the Nazi teachings from the minds of a generation that has now become pagan and hitlerized. That will take time.

Question: Is it true that Jews are not allowed to join the Polish Army?

Answer: That is rubbish.

Question: What is the attitude of the Polish government towards the formation of a Jewish army?

Answer: That is a Jewish and not a Polish matter. When the Jews themselves are agreed upon it and after they have discussed it with Great Britain, the Polish Government will be in a position to state its views.

Question: Has the Polish government done anything to prevent these mass massacres of Jews in Poland, has it protested against them and against the silence with which they are surrounded?

Answer: I should like to ask the reporter on what planet he lives. My answer to the question is that the Polish Government has never ceased for one moment in its efforts to arouse world opinion and has again and again protested against these massacres. The last joint warning issued a few days ago, to which the governments of the United States and Great Britain have adhered, was on the initiative of the Polish Government, and actually drafted and prepared by it. Unfortunately we cannot for the time being, counteract those things because we also are being actively exterminated by the Germans in the same way as the Jews, but whatever we can do in the name of the high ideals of the United Nations and of Christian principles, we certainly are doing. The walls of the Jewish ghettos will fall, because they will imme-

diately be overthrown by the Polish people, who have voiced their execration of these dastardly acts. The propaganda of Goebbels never tires of accusing Poland and members of the Polish government of being anti-Semitic. As I appealed to the Jewish Congress in New York, I appeal to you and your readers to do what you can to stamp out such lying propaganda.

Question: I can assure the Prime Minister that this is being done.

Question: What is General Sikorski's reaction to the deal with Darlan?

Answer: In my opinion, the real problem can be summed up in the following question: Are political or strategic considerations the more important and decisive at the present stage of the African campaign?

I do not hesitate in answering that, under the circumstances and for the time being, politics cannot be allowed adversely to influence the course of strategy, especially when dealing with an operation as important and as difficult as the Allied offensive in Africa. The decision of the Allied High Command in Africa was exclusively dictated by military requirements and is entirely justified by them. I would regard as most dangerous for the further development of the operations conducted by General Eisenhower, anything that would interfere with, or restrict the freedom of his operational moves. All the more so on account of Germany's decision to hold Tunis and Bizerte at all cost, and the advantage held by the Axis Powers as regards communications.

I have been asked how I would have acted in General Eisenhower's place. I reply that I should have acted exactly as he did.

But what about "Fighting France"?

We have no right to forget that at the time when the flag of France fell from the hands of her surrendering army, it was picked up and raised by General de Gaulle. His action was true to the highest ideals and traditions of France,—of that France without which a lasting peace in Europe is unthinkable. General de Gaulle will forever remain the symbol of Fighting and Immortal France.

What under the circumstances is the future of "Fighting France"?

Here again political considerations should give way to the exigencies of war and ultimate victory. I firmly believe that all Frenchmen will realize the demand of the moment and will join in a policy uniting all their efforts for the time being outside their country, in the same way as we Poles have done, so as to fight in full harmony and unity with the single aim of saving their country.

Question: How does the Prime Minister contemplate Polish-Czech cooperation after this war?

Answer: I and my government

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UNDERGROUND POLAND SPEAKS

General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, read the following underground report from the women of Poland in Chicago on December 17, 1942.

"TO the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief:

On Polish Soldiers Day, the women of Poland send you greetings for the Army fighting abroad. They send you the might of their suffering, their longing for freedom and their will to endure, stronger than death itself. May these lead you to Poland and her freedom.

With these greetings, we report to you as soldiers, for we too are an army of Fighting Poland. Side by side with you and your forces we continue the fight night and day, without pause, without rest.

We want you to know and remember this. We want you, upon your return, to find homes and not rubble; living human beings and not rotting corpses. That is why we call to you while there is yet time. Our only weapon in the fight with the enemy is silence. We are silent when at night they rob Jews of sons and daughters, when German soldiers shoot at children in the street, when they drown Jewish children in the

sewers and brain mothers bringing food to their family. We are silent when they shoot at our husbands, hang them along railroad tracks, and use the butt-ends of their rifles to herd us together to witness their execution as happened in Krakow, Silesia, and Poznan. We are silent when they take our last bushel of rye, when we pick weeds, when our bodies bloat from hunger as in eastern Malopolska, when they throw us out of our farms for failure to meet our quotas, when they burn our villages, kill the defenseless inhabitants of areas where parachutists have landed, but our silence of two years ago and our silence today are two different things.

Wives, mothers and sisters will welcome you, if you find us alive upon your return. A pain so terrible has been burned into us, a misery and suffering so horrible numbs us, that there is not an ounce of mercy or indulgence in us. We are against applying diplomacy and humanitarian methods to the German beast. We do not want you to postpone vengeance until after the war. Why do you not strike? Why are there still cities in the Reich whose civilian population knows nothing of the horror of war? What are you waiting for? Only through horror and reprisal will you ward off death from us and our children. In the face of the enemy we maintain a disciplined silence, we know that it is not yet our time to speak. But to you, Sir, we report with a cry: Do you and the Government know what is happening in Poland? And if your knowledge is derived from bare accounts, you can certainly not grasp the full truth. We ourselves did not think things could be so bad as they are today.

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Etbl. Jag. 1943
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(Continued from page 3)

Gloomy prison fortresses in Polish cities tremble with the moans of the tortured, and there are children among them. Every so often, we are deluged with telegrams informing us of deaths in the camps. News later reaches us of how horribly these people have been tortured. Through Warsaw railroad station pass trainloads of young people shipped into Germany like wild animals. We are surrounded on city streets. They hunt us in villages and in railroad cars stopping at some terminal. For many weeks now, we have been witnessing mass executions. People are murdered by families or by groups, men, women and children separately.

Hundreds of cities and villages have been depopulated. They call it the 'liquidation' of the Jewish element. But we cry out: they are murdering human beings!

Daily they ship ten thousand human beings from Warsaw, and thousands from other cities. Daily these thousands are gassed to death in sealed cars. Others are machine-gunned and buried alive or made into chemicals in underground factories.

Daily entire families commit suicide. Mothers with little children jump out of windows. Children go mad. On ghetto streets German soldiers shoot them down like ducks.

The toll of Jews is being exhausted. The licentious beast is seeking new victims. Already in Central Malopolska there have been manhunts against the aged, against beggars, and against men and women.

In the vicinity of Lancut, beggars were executed en masse so that they might not deplete Polish bread. One already hears talk that the order to kill old men found on the highways will be ex-

tended to old men in our homes. Tomorrow we shall tremble for the lives of our fathers and mothers, just as today we tremble for the lives of our children. In Deblin they arrest entire trains, and take them in an unknown direction. Our eyes go blind looking for news from you. Why is all so quiet? After all, there are bombs—Polish, English, American. Why are you silent? We do not weep, we have no tears. We are alive, we are able to die for Poland, but we wish to live for her. Therefore, we demand a ruined German city for every murdered family in Poland, raids on the civilian population of Germany for every bloody massacre, and a ten-fold execution for every murdered Pole.

We want to hear over the radio that our prayers that German mothers may be made to weep, have been answered.

Send us no words of acknowledgement, nor call upon us to endure. That we know how to do. Do not praise our sacrifice, but make the Allied governments give Poland a free hand and power for immediate reprisal.

Let them allow Poland to use her air force, stronger now than before the war, and strike hard enough for us to hear that we have avengers and defenders."

DIES IRAE

*Dark be the day of retribution
Drenched with tears,
Bitter the chill of dissolution
Tortured with fears.
Shrink!—for the wrath
shall come upon you.
Futile your prayer;
God help the guilty
ones around you,
Man will not spare.
Words? — Bah! — who
can believe you?
Best silence keep;
Perhaps when we've
done we'll leave you
Your eyes to weep.*

WYNDHAM DISNEY-ROEBUCK



A STRUGGLE FOR LIFE AND DEATH

THE Germans in Poland have destroyed the entire educational system of Poland so thoroughly that today no trace of it remains.

In the Western provinces of Poland, illegally "incorporated" in the Reich, that is in Pomerania, Poznan, Silesia and the western part of the Polish central provinces, where more than 90% of the population was pure Polish, all Polish schools have been closed and with typical German thoroughness the invaders are wiping out every indication of their former existence. School buildings have been taken over by the military, or are used as schools for the children of German colonists. All school primers and manuals in Polish have been collected and pulped for Germany's war effort. School, laboratory and workshop equipment, and all libraries, have been burnt, destroyed or removed to Germany. The students of secondary and technical schools and universities have been deported to Germany for forced labor in agriculture or industry, while younger pupils have disappeared from the area altogether or live in constant fear of deportation.

The latter are forced to attend German schools, as part of the process of Germanizing the country. Polish teachers have been decimated by German Special Courts, have been shot, hanged, sent to prison or concentration camps, or deported and left destitute like other deportees.

The fate of Polish education in the Government General is equally tragic. In theory the Germans allow Polish elementary schools, but in fact they have eliminated their Polish character. Polish history, general knowledge of Poland, Polish geography and indeed all geography and religion, have been removed from the curriculum.

The Polish language was to have been tolerated, but more than three years ago Governor General Frank ordered the immediate confiscation of all Polish primers. In practice, the teaching of Polish became impossible.

Conditions in the elementary schools of the Government General make systematic education impossible. All endowments have been confiscated, most of the buildings have been requisitioned by the German army, others taken over as required, so now the classes have to be conducted in quite unsuitable buildings. Some schools have had to change quarters nearly a dozen times in the course of a year.

Roughly speaking, 50% of all Polish children between seven and fourteen are unable to attend school. Those who do attend get little or no education, for all schools close frequently for lack of fuel in winter, or because of requisition. Other factors also affect the standard of education. Poles exist under German occupation and exploitation in untold conditions of misery and starvation so that the health of all children and young people is seriously undermined. Children often faint in school, tuberculosis claims more and more victims, and the low health of the children makes it impossible for them to learn or remember what lessons they get.

No secondary and higher school education exists, and all buildings of this category have been closed, handed over to the military, or taken by the German civil administration. Their equipment, laboratories, libraries, etc., have been destroyed or removed to Germany.

Four German decrees regulate the organization of Polish training schools, alleging that Germany encourages training schools, especially agricultural ones. Germany seeks to make the Poles into a people of serfs and peasants, workers, and unskilled craftsmen. To do this, Polish system of technical and training schools, which was adapted to Poland's artistic and economic genius and needs, has been completely destroyed. The Germans have banned all general education from these schools, and instruction is exclusively technical. Even so, technical training is hampered by continual requisition of equipment and apparatus, deportation of students to forced labor in Germany, lack of fuel and of teaching staff.

In eastern Poland, which came under Soviet occupation, Polish schools were retained by the Soviet authorities,

though a Communist curriculum was introduced. Since Germany occupied this area, all Polish schools are being eliminated, only Ukrainian, Lithuanian or White Ruthenian being allowed. The Germans are using Polish schools, like much else, to further their own political courtship of minority populations. In North-Eastern Poland, Polish schools have been as completely abolished as in Western Poland.

German policy in Western and Eastern Poland seeks to abolish all Polish education: in the Government General it tolerates certain lower forms of education to serve its own political aims. After the

war the Polish educational system will have to be rebuilt from the ground up.

All the world knows what has been the fate of higher education in Poland. All the 28 universities and academies in pre-war Poland have been closed. The professors and lecturers of Cracow and Lwow University were sent to concentration camps in Germany. The professors and lecturers of other colleges can neither teach nor study, and have to work as best they may to exist at all.

The youth of Poland is no longer to belong to any social, political or educational organizations. All such bodies have been dissolved as a threat to German rule. Students' hostels, rest homes, holiday centers, and all assets formerly belonging to such organizations, all urban and rural, workers' and youths' hostels and property have been confiscated. Fine buildings, once centers of student life, such as the Academic House in Warsaw, are now Gestapo and police headquarters. Outwardly abolished, Polish students' life has only retired underground, there to carry on the struggle until victory.

The fate of the students themselves is tragic. Himmler, the hangman, is out to exterminate them. Of the hundred

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"PLAYGROUNDS ONLY FOR GERMAN CHILDREN"

Such notices are displayed in the parks and public gardens in Poland

A STRUGGLE FOR LIFE AND DEATH

(Continued from page 5)

thousand Poles in German concentration camps, at least fifty percent are under thirty. At Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, Dachau, Oswiecim and elsewhere are more than three thousand Poles between twelve and eighteen. These youths are subject to brutal torture, and their average expectation of life in a concentration camp is from six to nine months. Some die after a few weeks or even days.

From time to time in Polish towns and villages the Germans carry out great man-hunts in which the S.S., Hitlerjugend, Gestapo and Volksdeutsche all join. Frequently, only men between sixteen and twenty-five are held. Some are sent to forced labour in Germany, chiefly in areas suffering from Royal Air Force attacks, others are sent to the rear of the German armies in Russia, the rest to concentration camps. In the western provinces illegally "incorporated" in the Reich, the Germans conscript Poles directly into the German Army.

Then the Germans seek to corrupt and demoralize all Polish young people and children left in the country. Everything is done to encourage drink and debauchery. Pornographic literature, the only type allowed to be printed in Polish today, is published on a large scale and circulated to boys and girls. The theatre and cinema are also pressed into German service for the demoralization of youth, and attendance at special performances of this type is often compulsory.

None the less, the youth of Poland stands fast against the German offensive. A fine example of heroism was given by a lad of twelve, a high school student, who, with 26 other hostages, was shot in Warsaw. Arrested as hostages in connection with alleged sabotage, they faced a German firing squad, and as the soldiers fired their rifles, the boy cried: "Germany will lose the war! Long live Poland!"

More than a hundred underground newspapers are published in Poland, and many are edited by students. They are devoted to Poland's liberation and her future place in post-war Europe.

The youth of Poland is in the forefront of the struggle, not only on the field of battle but on the Home Front. They are the mainspring of the unconquerable Polish nation. Theirs is an absolutely irreconcilable struggle against the Germans in Poland and everywhere else where Germans may be found.

The practical idealism and broad vision of Polish youth is given by the "Manifesto of Young Poles," recently published "somewhere in Poland." It says in part:

"Together with the rest of our Motherland, we, the young generation of Poles, are living through bitter days of slavery. A generation that in the great days of its childhood and youth was given to know the blessings of freedom—for whom a free country was as real as the rays of the life-giving sun—we, the first generation of young Poles, after the long night of slavery, to grow up under the roof of an independent Motherland, by the inscrutable plans of Providence, have been thrust under the yoke of a barbarous invader, now engaged in murdering our parents and brothers, destroying our culture, pillaging our possessions, and undermining the very foundations of the new Poland that was being built. An evil and sombre shadow has fallen across our sunlit youth.

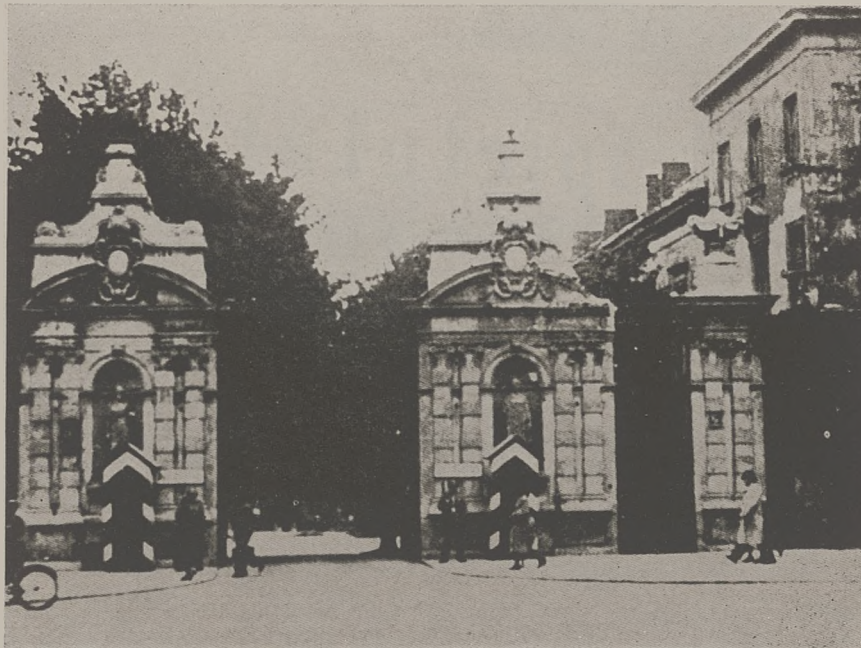
"Yet that shadow cannot weaken our faith or affect our sense of national dignity. We are far from powerless. Despair and doubt and the blush of shame are foreign to us. We believe in Poland, and we are proud to be Poles. We believe that even while we are still young, Poland will again be free and independent.

"Our enemy seeks to plunge us into a moral desert and to destroy all our vital forces. He wants to be sure that on the day of the final struggle for our existence, knights armed in the strength of the spirit and with an iron fist shall not emerge from the catacombs of national life. He seeks to wrest from us our youth, our greatest weapon: the energy of youth, which we are to lose forever. . . . We accept the challenge. Despite the enemy's fury the pulse of inner life beats without weakening.

"Each of us, whether young peasant or worker, craftsman or

student or scholar, living in the towns or the villages, each of us must make fundamental decisions. First, each must choose his future mobilization point, must exercise in the use of arms, must gather his strength, must watch and be ready for the first sign. Second, Poland is and will be a strong moral force, an armed wisdom, active with physical valour, in so far as each of us kindles moral strength in his own soul, enriches his intellect, and subjects his body to his soul by intense physical effort. Thus arise before every young Pole the three roads of definite action: character, knowledge, physical activity. . . .

"In the underground of our national life we must create a true moral organization of the young generation of Poland . . . strongly knit in a moral and ideal community. We all take upon ourselves the burden of responsibility for our life. For we must write the history of our generation in great and worthy lives."



THE MAIN GATE OF WARSAW UNIVERSITY, NOW BARRACKS OF NAZI POLICE

POLISH PETROLEUM INDUSTRY



POLAND was the only European country beside Soviet Russia and Rumania whose petroleum industry was not limited to refining imported oil. Having her own oilfields, Poland was able to have three industries: oil drilling, oil refining, and natural gases.

Oil drilling in Poland dates from the middle of the 19th century. Already in 1909 Polish oilfields yielded more than two million tons of crude oil, covering more than five per cent of world oil production. The most productive Polish oilfields, possibly the oldest in the world, are those located at Boryslaw, in the Carpathian Mountains. In 1937 they

occupied an area of 13,250 acres and included 3,815 wells. The annual output came to more than half a million tons.

Poland has additional territory auguring well for future oil exploitation in the Carpathians, in the sub-Carpathian region, in the northwest and in the east. Prior to 1939 considerable prospecting had been done in the south.

In 1928 the Polish Government requested the larger oil companies to form a corporation for the purpose of studying geophysical conditions of the territory before beginning drill-

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LE BALLET POLONAIS

*You dancers, crushed, in misery, in the frost
Helpless and hopeless under cruel sway,
You flowers torn from Poland tempest-tossed,
Know, that the Spirit whom you served survives
All horror that makes havoc of men's lives,
And though the robber snatch and killer slay
A Nation's gathered beauty is not lost.*

To the Dancers in the Polish Ballet—
By JOHN MASEFIELD.



COSTUME BY
MICHAL KEDZIORA

WHEN in the spring of 1939 some twenty Polish couples danced the Mazur at a ball given by the Polish Embassy in Paris, French officials, foreign diplomats and journalists who crowded the salons of the beautiful Hotel Talleyrand, were delighted by this singularly beautiful Polish dance, whose rhythm and steps are a dazzling interplay of court, military and popular movement. Remarkable on the elegance, charm, passion, abandon and elemental humor of life brought into the rather superficial *vie de salon*. Mme. Bourdet, wife of the noted playwright and director of the Comédie Française, and a woman

who had no special sentiment for Poland, said: "I can understand now why the Poles refuse to give up Pomerania." This was not as far-fetched as it sounded. For a nation's dances are a true expression of its national individuality which in periods of high culture creates works of universal appeal, yet of peculiarly national character, that inspire a peasant's love for his soil and his readiness to die in its defense.

Anyone who has ever seen the mazur, oberek, or krakowiak danced in Poland, who has seen, were it but once, the polonaise rendered in the inimitable, dignified and graceful manner of by-gone days, who has attended a mountaineer wedding in Zakopane and seen the Polish highlanders executing their age-old dances to the strains of pagan music, anyone who realizes that Chopin's music was born out of these national themes will understand to what degree Polish dances are an expression of Polish temperament.



"LEGEND OF CRACOW"—CHOREOGRAPHY BY BRONISLAWA NIZYNSKA

Poland has always danced and danced magnificently. The gentry in their traditional national dress trod the measures of the stately polonaise, or forgot themselves in the fiery tempo of the mazur in which the rural soul of the manor lord and the peasant experienced the same degree of ecstasy. The ravishing quick steps of the richly varied krakowiak, amid the rhythmic tintinabulation of the bell-studded Cracovian belts, and the swish of peacock feathers in the red four-cornered hats as they swept the low ceiling of the peasant cottage, reflected Polish bravado, cockiness and gallantry, while the melancholy accents of the kujawiak invested everything Polish with a peculiarly poignant charm.

Fate decreed that the first stage ballet in the world (1573), "Les Nymphes", was to be danced in Paris to commemorate the election to the Polish throne of Henri d'Anjou, later Henri III.—a portent of the future development of this art in Poland. Henceforth the castles of Polish kings and the palaces of magnates resounded with Italian ballet music, so sweet to all ears but to Polish Kings like Wladyslaw IV, dearer than all other arts. In the 18th century that great patron of the arts, King Stanislaus Augustus built a romantic pseudo-classic island theatre in Lazienki Park for the performance of open air ballet. Noverre's dedication of his great work on the Theatre, to this Polish Maecenas shows that the ballet thrived in Poland from the first.

In the most trying days of national enslavement, the dance kept pace with the other arts. It not only failed to lose ground in Poland but it blossomed enviably. The Polish ballet, that performed in the sumptuous Corazzi theatre, destroyed by German bombs in 1939, and the Warsaw ballet school became art centers in which classic dancing found expression in unsullied purity and dazzling precision. In the Warsaw ballet were male and female stars of such magnitude, that the great court theatres of Moscow and St. Petersburg summoned the Polish dancers, offering them important engagements, wealth and world fame. And so at the turn of the century, the Polish ballet,

by JICHON



BALLET IN THE 18TH CENTURY

seduced by its own fame, gave its best, if not to Russian art, at least to the Russian public. On the imperial stage in St. Petersburg, Matylda Krzesinska, the daughter of Poland's greatest mazur dancer, radiated her legendary charm, electrified her audiences by the unexpected poetry of her dancing, and, as the "prima ballerina assoluta" for many years, eclipsed all other stars.

With the help of their Russian colleagues in Warsaw, on whose good will the Warsaw ballet depended for its very existence, the directors of the Imperial theatres filled all the needs of their ensemble by drawing on the outstanding material in the Polish troupe.

Thus, when the great Diaghilev set out to storm the world with his "Russian Ballets", his ensemble was teeming with Polish names, foremost among them, Krzesinska in Petersburg and the one and only Wacław Nizyński, son of a pair of Polish dancers, whose artistry no one presumed to match, and whose creations will live as long as there is a spark of imagination and appreciation of beauty in the world.

At his side, at first as dancer and later as choreographer, gifted with exceptional intelligence and mighty artistic vision, Bronisława Nizyńska leaves an indelible mark in the annals of ballet art. Stanisław Idzikowski and Leon Wojcikowski evoked admiration wherever they ap-

peared with Diaghilev's world-touring, victorious and fascinating Russian Ballets.

Diaghilev's successors followed his example, drawing on ballet dancers from Warsaw to fill vacancies in their troupes. And so, the beautiful and excellent classic dancer, Roman Jasinski and later the first character dancers, Jurek Szabelewski and Jurek Lazowski (recently the compelling "Soldier" of Prokofiev) soon won leading positions and world fame.

But Polish artistic opinion was convinced that the unnaturally high percentage of Polish dancers in Russian ensembles, a hangover from the period of the partitions, and the roaming of Polish choreographers over the whole world (Romanowski in Bucharest, Cieplinski in Budapest and Buenos Aires) should give way to a "Polish Ballet" in which Polish dancers, Polish choreographers, musicians and painters could pool their efforts to present to the world this relatively unknown but truly Polish art.

Realization of this hope was favored by the great strides made in recent years by Polish stage actors and the predilec-



COSTUME BY ZOFIA STRYJENSKA



"BALLET REHEARSAL" BY FELIKS TOPOLSKI

tion of young Polish musicians for dance music, thanks to Karol Szymanowski.

The present writer had the great satisfaction of launching the Polish ballet abroad at the International Exposition in Paris in 1937. The splendid presentation of the magnificent "Harnasie" ballet in the Paris Grand Opera, will be to the Poles what Stravinsky's "Petrushka" was to the Russians. The music by Szymanowski, the choreography by Lifar, and the beautiful decorations by Irena Lorentowicz helped to make this a signal for the birth of an outstanding world-touring Polish ballet.

The very way in which the Polish ballet came into being left no question as to Polish talent in this field. When Bronisława Nizyńska was called to Warsaw to take over the artistic direction of the ensemble and to prepare it for competitive appearances in Paris, she found 30 young boys and girls, with imperfect technique, as a result of the decline of the Warsaw Ballet

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COSTUME BY IRENA LORENTOWICZ

LE BALLET POLONAIS

(Continued from page 9)

School, and with no repertoire save a Chopin concerto.

Four months later the Polish Ballet was in Paris, together with dazzling stage sets by foremost Polish artists and a repertoire of five completely new Polish ballets. After its first performance Gerard Bauer, well-known critic of the "Figaro," devoted a front-page article to the Polish dancers, describing them as successors to the stars lighted by the genius of Diaghilev.

The Poles danced two weeks in the huge crowded theatre amid thunderous applause, and were the only ones of all the troupes to receive a Grand Prix at the World Exposition. The choreography of Bronislawa Nizynska, especially for the "Legend of Cracow" by Kondracki, the Concerto in E minor by Chopin, and the "Song of the Earth" by Roman Palester, born of a deep feeling for Polish rhythms and Polish temperament, will remain forever among the masterpieces of the Ballet.

One year later, at the New York World's Fair, the American public thrilled to the compositions of Wojcikowski and Cieplinski, the stage sets and costumes, the grace and classic art of Olga Slawska, the dazzling technique of Nina Juszkiewicz, the temperament and finesse of Glinkowna, the youthful beauty and vigorous talent underlying the great artistry of Zbigniew Kilinski.

The Polish Ballet returned from New York to Warsaw a few days before the war and shared the fate of everything Polish. Itself barely reborn, it is awaiting, like everything else, a new resurrection to testify to the unconquerable vitality of the Polish nation, to its noble dignity and the deep poetry contained in the polonaise, to its verve, confidence and joyous strength that lend carefree buoyancy to the krakowiak and mazur.



OLGA SLAWSKA AND CZESLAW KONARSKI IN
"LEGEND OF CRACOW"



"HARNASIE" IN PARIS, 1937

From left to right: Jan Lechon (author of this article), Irena Lorentowicz (stage decorator), Karol Szymanowski (composer of "Harnasie")

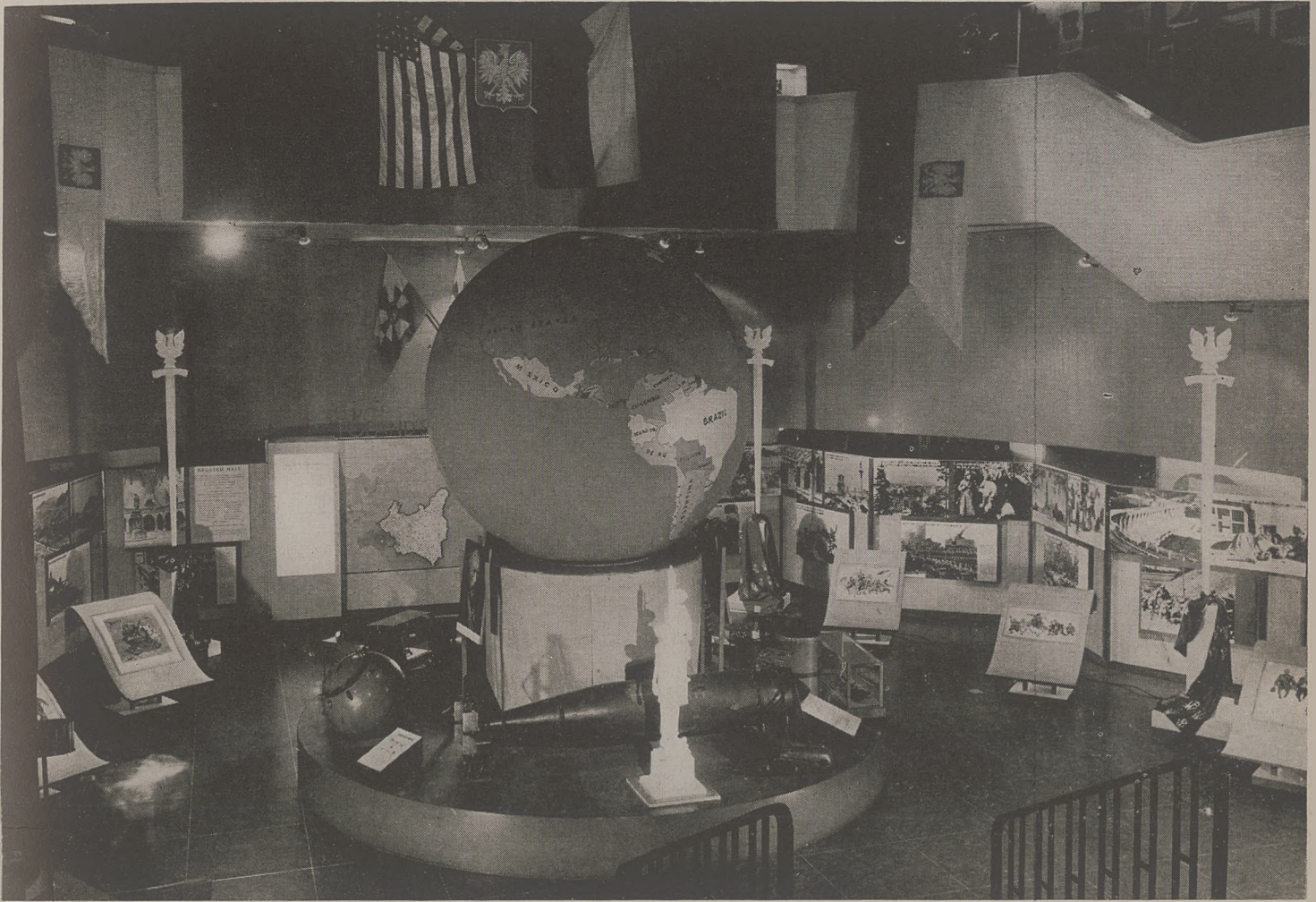
"... It is only in recent years that Polish Ballet has been coming to its own in Great Britain. Before 1914 it was wholly confused with Russian Ballet and even in this book there is much space given to the great name of Anna Pavlova. But, despite the glamour of the tradition of the old Russian Imperial Theatre, it must now be recognised that the Warsaw Theatre and the Ballet School have a distinctive tradition of their own. From the oldest times the Poles have had their dances and their own national themes, and they have produced dancers like Nizynski (Nijinski), who can fairly be put beside the best of any country. In these last years the distinctive style of Polish Ballet was asserting itself in an ever more unmistakable manner, and its distinctive national characteristics were stressed by the music of young Polish composers working for the Warsaw stage.

Poland has suffered a barbarian invasion and only the facade of the Warsaw Theatre now remains; but this noble building will yet be rebuilt and Polish Ballet will again be the worthy exponent of the old classical grace and elegance of movement in dancing.

—EDWARD RACZYNSKI, Polish Ambassador
Introduction to "Ballet—to Poland"
by Arnold L. Haskell.

Polish Embassy, London, April 1940.

"POLAND'S PART IN THE WAR"



THE Polish exhibition now open at the New York Museum of Science and Industry, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, gives a vivid portrayal of "Poland's Part in the War."

In a photographic frieze of 36 large panels, pictures of Poland as she was before Germany's unprovoked aggression, contrast with photographs of Poland today: a gay pre-war dance festival and a photo of two young sisters machine-gunned by the Germans; modern schools and playgrounds next to the hunger bloated bodies of Polish children; the interior of Warsaw's historic castle, and a picture of the same castle, burned, looted, and then mined under the "New Order"; the courtyard of Poland's oldest University and a printed invitation to attend a Requiem Mass in London for 17 Professors of this same University who died in the concentration camp at Oranienburg. Each set of "before and after" invasion pictures is supplemented by a picture showing Poland's share in the Allied war effort: Polish cavalry in the Middle East, Poland's avenging eagles in England so dreaded by the Germans, Polish Women's Auxiliary Corps, Polish commandos, etc.

A number of Artur Szyk's striking caricatures of German barbarians are reproduced in colored enlargements.

Among the outstanding features of this Polish exhibition is a sculpture by Aristide Mian, showing two Poles hanged by the Germans and bearing the inscription of "New Order" on one side of the pedestal and "Kultur" in Poland on the other. The sculptor's striking work was inspired by the photograph of two Poles left hanging by the Germans for three days during the Wawer massacre on Christmas day in 1939.

Another interesting section of the exhibition entitled "What Poles are defending" gives a number of facts about Poland, including the following:

1. The first Polish Parliament was created in 1454.
2. In 1414 Poland and Lithuania united to form the first voluntary Confederation in Europe.
3. In 1433, individual freedom was guaranteed to Poles 200 years before the Habeas Corpus Act was passed in England.
4. Religious freedom was guaranteed to all in 1573.
5. The University of Cracow, third oldest in Europe, was founded in 1364.
6. Poland was the first country in Europe to create a Ministry of Education (1775).
7. Poland was the first European country to have a written democratic constitution (1791). From 1573 on, she elected her Kings. Since Poland's rebirth in 1919, four of her Prime Ministers came from the working classes.
8. Poles fought for the independence of the United States, Belgium, Italy, Hungary, Greece, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and Latvia.
9. Poland led the world in progressive labor legislation.
10. Since 1919 everyone had free access to elementary, secondary, and academic education.

(Please turn to page 14)

JAN DONALD SMES THREE TIMES

by ARKADY EDLER*

PILOT OFFICER Jan Donald was the rear guard of the section. He circled warily behind the others, watching for Messerschmitts. There were plenty of them about. Besides the enemy squadron which the Hurricanes had already engaged, he could see separate German planes all over the sky, mostly very high up, but some not more than a thousand yards away from him.

England was invisible, though they all knew that it was below the fluffy carpet of the clouds which glowed in the eerie light of September sunshine. This detachment from earth suddenly inspired Donald with the odd idea that there was no ground at all, that everything was happening in a magic dreamland—everything, even the savage dog-fight above.

"Magic!" Donald said aloud in his cockpit and smiled at himself. Yet he was a sober-minded fighter pilot and no dreamer.

He was suddenly alarmed by the strange disappearance of the plane leading the section. It had been there a few seconds ago, and Donald lost sight of it when making one of his precautionary sweeps. There were some clumps of clouds here and there, like scattered bushes in a desert. The leader must have vanished behind one of them. But now he appeared again, rather higher than before, about five hundred yards ahead. Yes, that was the section leader, Donald decided with relief.

He put on a spurt and swiftly overtook the other plane. When he was less than a hundred yards behind he reduced speed, in order to come automatically into line with the leader. Suddenly he noticed a peculiar detail about the other plane. The tailplane was supported by two struts, though no Hurricanes had any such struts. He stared in amazement—he had keen, Polish eyes—and he clearly saw those two struts. What the devil!

He was flying directly in line with this strange phenomenon, so to get a better view he swerved out. He was dumbfounded: the other machine had yellow horizontal bands and

a black cross on its side. A German cross! It was a Messerschmitt!

For a moment Donald's hair stood on end, and he slumped in his seat. Then from a little above, without wasting time for correction, he pumped a heavy burst into the German. At that distance the bullets rent the fuselage like a sharp axe. Bits flew off the Messerschmitt and part of one wing fell right away. Pouring out smoke, the plane plunged down, and was nothing but a flaming torch by the time it disappeared in the clouds.

Donald watched it go with glittering eyes.

"Magic!" he whispered, just a little surprised, and smiled again—this time over his victory.

He was about to renew his search for his leader, when unexpectedly another Messerschmitt, flying to his colleague's aid, fell on him from above. Donald was swinging round in a circle at that moment, and this saved him: all the enemy's bullets passed by him. He saw them streaming past.

He jumped as though scalded. He climbed to get on equal terms for a dog-fight. But the German was no fool, and would not let him get to grips. Exploiting his superior speed, he dived, but climbed up sharply and regained his advantage of height. Then he dived once more, firing as he came. So he pecked again and again, like an infuriated bird. Donald took his machine into narrower and narrower circles. That was his only hope: it is difficult to hit a plane as it is turning.

The two pilots were possessed with a wild determination. They knew it was death for one of them. The German had the advantage. He fired. Donald could not fire. He kept on the defensive. But as he circled round he slowly took his machine higher. With superhuman effort he drew nearer to the enemy. He knew he was done for if he did not get level with him and force him into equal combat.

Then, oh heck! a second Messerschmitt joined in. Immediately the two enemy machines changed their tactics. They did not attack. They flew round in circles, just like Donald, only higher, above him. It was as though they were keeping guard over him. As indeed they were.

And still no end to it! Two more Messerschmitts now! They appeared above him for a moment, then disappeared again. They must be somewhere near at hand, plotting something. Four of them! That was too much! Donald no longer thought of going in to fight. His own idea was to escape, to save his life. To flee down to the clouds. He looked down, and was aghast: below him, just above the clouds, another Messerschmitt was circling. A fifth! It was cutting off his escape.

Though Jan Donald had plenty of guts and was a fearless pilot, at that moment, surrounded and held as though in a cage, he could not suppress a feeling of fear: a cold shiver ran down his back. But he had

nerves of steel, and his brain did not stop working for one moment. He abandoned the apparently attractive idea of making a mad dive into the clouds. Though they were no more than fifteen hundred feet below, he knew well enough that before he could reach them the Messerschmitts would be right on his tail and would get him with their first burst. He chose another method, though it called for extreme self-control: he would not try any sudden attempt to break out, but would go on circling round, little by little dropping down closer and closer to the clouds. He was an old hand, and had firm control of his machine and himself.

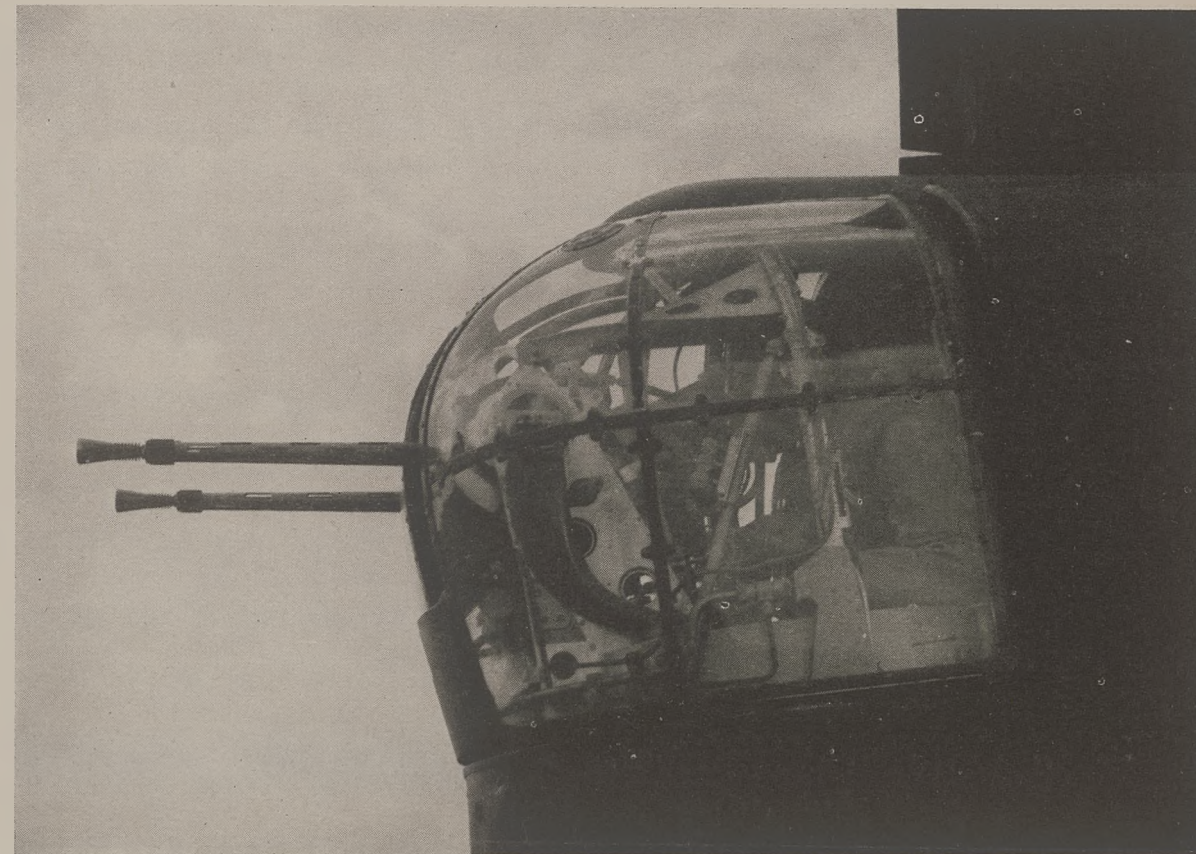
Now he saw what the second pair of Messerschmitts which had vanished were up to. They had climbed much higher, and swooped down out of the sun to attack him. First one came at him in a long powerdive, opened fire, missed, and as soon as he pulled his machine out of the dive to climb up again into the sun, the other followed him down. At last Donald understood all their devilish plan: while three Messerschmitts—two above and one below—watched his every movement, keeping him in the trap, the other two could calmly attack, passing him from one to the other until the final blow was administered.

Fortunately the second burst of fire also missed, and so did the third. Meantime Donald had dropped quite a considerable distance, and was now in dangerous proximity to the fifth Messerschmitt.

Then something unforeseen occurred which completely changed the situation. The variable fortunes of war took a new turn for the fighters.

At the fourth attack the German bullets again missed him, flying over his head, and passed close to the fifth Messerschmitt. The German pilot failed to realize where the fire was coming from, and deciding that a second Hurricane had come up to attack him, he suddenly broke away and dived down towards the clouds. Then events happened in lightning succession. Donald followed his example. He was dead in line with the Messerschmitt, less than three hundred feet above him. Instinctively he got him in his sight, and pressed the button. He had got him! The German went in a helpless glide into the clouds. Donald followed him.

He reached the clouds. He had escaped from the trap. He was safe. Numbed and shaken, but alive and whole. His instruments also seemed to have been shaken up by the struggle, for his compasses and artificial horizon were refusing to function.



READY TO FIRE!

When Pilot Officer Jan Donald landed at his aerodrome among his friends some fifteen minutes later, he asked for a glass of water and a cigarette. His colleagues looked anxiously at his parched lips: in the corners of his mouth were flecks of blood.

But Donald smiled at his friends through the blood—a smile of relief and satisfaction.

*FROM "SQUADRON 303", BY ARKADY FIEDLER, LONDON, 1942

"... Since the day when Polish soldiers on foreign soil took up the arms which—for a time only—had been struck from the hands of the Nation, they have fought so well that they have won renown and glory throughout the world. I can assure you that they will continue so to fight in the future, until final victory. . . ."

GENERAL WLADYSLAW SIKORSKI,
Commander in Chief of the
Polish Armed Forces.



BIRDS OF A FEATHER . . .

POLISH PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

(Continued from page 7)

ing, so as to locate better openings and to decrease the drilling risk. The *Pionier Corporation* sprang into being, capitalized at 15 million zlotys plus an additional 5 million zlotys for geological research, and when in 1936 fresh wells were sunk in these areas, the work was based on the results of the Corporation's research.

The Polish State also showed its interest in prospecting and drilling activity by establishing in 1926 the *Fund in Support of Oil Drilling* to subsidize drilling and experimental work relating to it.

In 1937 the oil drilling industry alone employed more than 10,000 workers.

Oil drilled in Poland was distilled in state refineries of which there were 37 in 1938. The capacity of the Polish refining industry enabled it to handle 1,200,000 tons of crude petroleum per year.

The following table indicates the number of barrels of crude oil refined as well as the number of barrels of by-products obtained yearly:

1935—	<i>Crude Oil</i> 31,989,315	<i>Gasoline</i> 4,971,221	<i>Kerosene</i> 9,253,140	<i>Gasoline Oil</i> 6,076,025
	<i>Grease</i> 4,516,073	<i>Paraffin</i> 1,576,845	<i>Other Products</i> 2,636,862	
1936—	<i>Crude Oil</i> 30,727,098	<i>Gasoline</i> 5,523,762	<i>Kerosene</i> 9,138,342	<i>Gasoline Oil</i> 6,153,144
	<i>Grease</i> 3,342,969	<i>Paraffin</i> 1,573,328	<i>Other Products</i> 2,519,410	
1937—	<i>Crude Oil</i> 31,331,987	<i>Gasoline</i> 5,684,970	<i>Kerosene</i> 9,068,320	<i>Gasoline Oil</i> 6,412,570
	<i>Grease</i> 2,875,375	<i>Paraffin</i> 1,484,426	<i>Other Products</i> 3,134,034	

The Polish oil industry proved highly attractive to foreign capital. Large French and American interests, in particular, were represented.

As most crude oil was drilled by large concerns having their own refineries, the only crude oil on the market was that sold by small companies that did not have their own refineries (25 to 30 percent of all crude oil production).

While the sale of crude oil was not specially organized, marketing of refined products had been organized by cartels. In 1935 these were replaced by the "*Polish Oil Export*", which distributed the export burden equally among all refineries, by establishing domestic and export quotas in accordance with the amount of production and domestic needs.

The domestic sale of petroleum products was conducted almost exclusively by the sales departments of the oil companies themselves. These had their own warehouses all over the country and their own filling stations for the retail sale of gasoline and lubricating oil. In Western Poland, kerosene was sold retail by the tank delivery system. Domestic sale of paraffin was centralized in one office. Export of oil products was supervised by the "*Polish Oil Export*". In addition

to the latter organization there were a number of societies of an economic and industrial nature in the oil industry: *National Petroleum Association in Lwow*, *Union of Polish Mineral Oil Producers and Refiners*, *Union of Polish Oil Industrialists*, etc.

Poland had rich fields of natural gas that were of great importance for her national economy. Pre-war gas consumption in the country was some 1,592,500,000 cubic feet annually, or about five percent of the country's coal consumption. The natural gas fields exploited by Poland formed but a fraction of her resources.

An important by-product of natural gas purification was natural gas gasoline. This was produced as follows by Poland's 29 natural gas purifying plants:

1935.....	39,259 tons.
1936.....	38,403 tons.
1937.....	39,060 tons.

Natural gas was piped to distant regions from its point of origin.

The Polish derricks, wells and all the equipment built up through so much laborious effort, are now ruined. The Boryslaw oilfields were taken over by Soviet Russia in 1939. When Germany attacked Russia in 1941, the retreating Russians wrecked the oil mines to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

POLAND'S PART IN THE WAR

(Continued from page 11)

A description of "Poland in Arms" shows her to be fifth in fighting strength among the United Nations, third largest in casualties among the Allies, and second to none in sacrifice for victory. Although every fifth Polish man, woman, or child has been killed, driven from home or carried off to slave labor in Germany, sabotage to date has destroyed 847 locomotives, a staggering figure when one stops to think that the maximum capacity of all Polish factories is 200 locomotives a year.

A huge world map shows, among other things, how Poles all over the world are contributing to the Allied war effort through active fighting and on the production and farming fronts. 260 Polish University Professors are perpetuating Polish culture in exile; of these a hundred are in Russia, twenty-five in Great Britain and forty in the United States.

Typical equipment of the Polish navy and air force is also on display and includes a torpedo, depth charge, paravane, aircraft flying instruments, camera gun, etc.

The entire exhibition gives a well-rounded picture of Poland's heroic past and her unswerving resistance to the invader despite the most ruthless mass persecution history has ever known.

The value of the exhibition is enhanced by the artistic arrangement of the various exhibits. Very effective are the symbolic swords and monumental Polish eagles draped in Polish crimson, as well as the striking arrangement of American and Polish flags.

*The front page: Polish artillery during winter drill.
The back page: Winter scene in the Eastern Carpathians.*

PERSECUTION OF WOMEN INTENSIFIED

London, Dec.—German persecution of women in Poland is being intensified. A few weeks ago about a hundred women were rounded up in Warsaw and deported to the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. They were mostly highly educated women. Today thirty percent of the total imprisoned by the Germans in Poland are women, 3,000 Polish women being among the inmates of the notorious Oswiecim camp, where there are nearly 40,000 prisoners of whom from sixty to seventy die daily.

Women of course are much less able to stand the terrible camp conditions—torture and hunger—than men, and mortality among them is especially high. Women are usually kept in prisons longer than men. They are arrested on any kind of pretext and locked in cells without trial, and are often kept there for many months and sometimes even more than a year.

German prison commandants and wardens are bestially cruel towards these women. Recently in the women's section the commandant ordered special punishment drill for women. After repeating the bending exercise two hundred times many of the women were taken seriously ill.

AN ADDRESS TO LABOR

SPEAKING to a C. I. O. Labor Delegation in Detroit, General Sikorski said:—

"Modern war has made the worker at his bench equal in importance to the soldier in arms.

"At the same time modern warfare—that is total war—has drawn entire nations into the orbit of suffering and sacrifice. Enemy bombs and barbarian terror fall equally on all professions and on all social classes.

"When by the labor and armed effort of entire nations, we achieve complete victory in this war of nations—peace, to be lasting, must guarantee international security, and also social security.

"International security we can achieve by establishing democratic institutions not only in the life of particular nations, but also in international life. The basis of such international democracy will be the acceptance and realization of the principle of Confederation in Europe; its permanence must be guaranteed by international power in the service of Right.

"We shall achieve social security by establishing economic conditions in which all will be equally assured of work, fair wages and complete equality before the law.

"For the maintenance of peace, I believe that social security is as important as international security. No international system of political cooperation can maintain peace if the people suffer from poverty or are exposed to discrimination or persecution, or if labor is not assured of the right of work, and is not insured against unemployment, sickness, accident and old-age, or if the worker does not earn enough to enable him to live a decent life.

"When this war is over, I imagine the world will have learned the lesson of experience, and will go forward along the road of international economic cooperation, planned on a national and international scale.

"In Poland, war has made men equal in sacrifice, suffering, resistance and fighting. When we liberate Poland we shall all have an equal right to freedom, work and education.

"I know the patriotism of the Polish Socialist Party, which has a page all its own in the history of fighting Poland.

"I count on its patriotism in the rebuilding of liberty! The working masses can rely upon the fact that the words contained in today's statement will become deeds, in the free and independent Poland that is to be."

POLES FROM RUSSIA MAY GO TO MEXICO

Mexico City, Dec. — General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Prime Minister of Poland, is here as the guest of President Manuel Avila Camacho to discuss with the Mexican Government the problem of sending 20,000 Polish refugees from Russia to Mexico for the duration of the war.

Of more than a million and a half Poles who were in Russia only some 50,000 have found a temporary refuge in Iran. Of the latter the Indian Princes have offered hospitality to tens of thousands and others have been sent to British colonies in Africa.

In dealing with such large numbers of refugees, it is of course desirable to settle them if possible in sub-tropical climates, where the problem of warm clothes and heating does not present itself in winter, and as President Camacho invited General Sikorski to be his guest, the problem will be fully explored.

Mexico offers many advantages and it is believed that the Poles would be a real asset to the country in which they might find a temporary residence pending the liberation of their home land. They would be settled on farms in the vicinity of the capital.

General Sikorski's Press Conferences

are anxious to arrive at a full Confederation between the two countries. On the other hand quite recently the conclusion of a twenty-year alliance between the two countries has been suggested, but in my opinion this would not be sufficient. It would be too much like the agreements that followed the last war, which proved totally inadequate for security. This war is so terrific and the stakes are so great that we must discard the small things that divide us and concentrate upon the vital interests that unite us. We hope sincerely that Confederation will be possible.

Question: Are the Baltic countries to be included in a federation with Poland?

Answer: That does not depend on us.

Question: I am going to bring up the old Vilno question. How will Poland settle the claims of Lithuania to Vilno?

Answer: How many Lithuanians were there in Vilno before the war?

Questioner: I don't know.

Answer: I represent Poland as she was when Germany attacked her, and it is not for me to suggest any territorial changes.

Question: Can Poland cooper-

ate with Russia after this war?

Answer: That depends on Soviet Russia. As far as we are concerned, we are anxious to have very close collaboration, and we are honestly and sincerely doing all we can to achieve it.

Question: What is the attitude of Poland toward the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine after the war?

Answer: We sympathize with the idea, but practically we cannot take any special action. I should like that question put to me after the war.

Question: How does the Prime Minister foresee the re-education of the Germans and their reformation? How long will it take?

Answer: The Germans must be put into quarantine, and it may last a long time.

General Sikorski then said: "I should like to take this opportunity to thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for attending this press conference. It has been most interesting to me, and I appreciate your attitude not only towards myself but towards Poland.

We are fighting in a common cause, most splendidly represented by two great democracies, one under the leadership of President

Roosevelt, the other under the leadership of Prime Minister Churchill. I very much desire and hope that President Roosevelt will be given the opportunity of solving the problems of that part of the world where Poland lies.

We are now in a crucial stage of the war. Allied victories in African territory justify our hope that the whole of North Africa will very soon be freed completely of Axis forces. That will not only decide the Allies' command of the Mediterranean, but will afford an excellent basis for further offensives by the Allies. I believe we are entering the last phase of the war, but it may still be a long phase. I foresee that the Germans entrenched in Europe will play for time, will do their utmost to persuade the Allies and public opinion in this country that further bloodshed is hopeless and that this war should be ended by a negotiated peace. The Germans will try to frighten the great Western Democracies by the threat of Bolshevism, appealing to them on behalf of our civilization that these arch-barbarians pretend they are defending. Should they succeed in doing so, we shall have lost the war.

In the name of the lofty ideals,

of the high principles for which we are fighting, I appeal to you, the leaders of public opinion in this Great Republic, to oppose such outbursts of Goebbels propaganda. A compromise peace with Germany would be equivalent to utter defeat. The enormous sacrifices of the fighting nations would have been in vain. At best, such a peace would be another precarious and most dangerous armistice.

The German dragon must this time be broken. This time the great ideals for which we are fighting must be put into practice. They must also be made safe for future generations by wholehearted cooperation between civilized nations.

From some of the questions asked me today, I feel there is still a good deal of misconception. This war is not about frontiers. This war is a "to be or not to be" war for Western civilization. We shall win this war, but I do not want it to end in such a way that in twenty-five years hence we shall again have to appeal to the United States to come and help us. That is why we must strive for a constructive ideal, the idea of confederation. I thank you very much for coming here."

December 18, 1942.

